

## INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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A five-page analysis of the First Congress of the Intelligentsia of the Uzbek SSR has been placed in the CIA Library, from which copies can be ordered. Included are the composition and background of the group and the main points brought out by the keynote address to the Congress, given by N.A. Mukhitdinov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek SSR. These main points are listed as (1) the far reaching and far-sighted Soviet Asian policy, (2) the present political situation in Soviet Central Asia in general and in the Uzbek SSR in particular, and (3) the hidden aims of the Soviet attack against the cult of personality in non-Russian areas of the USSR. Factual material about the Congress on which the analysis is based was taken from reports and articles in the newspaper Kizil Uzbekistan (Red Uzbekistan) of 9-14 October 1956. The speech of Mukhitdinov was printed in full in this paper on 13 October 1956. When detached from this cover sheet, the analysis may be considered CONFIDENTIAL.

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The First Congress of Uzbekistan's Intelligentsia

The first congress of the Intelligentsia of the Uzbek SSR was convened from October 11 to October 13, 1956, in Tashkent. There were present 1200 delegates representing scientific and cultural institutions, and industrial and agricultural enterprises of the Republic. Representatives of the intelligentsia of Kazakhstan, Kirgistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, and the Minister of Culture of the USSR, M. A. Mikhailov, were present. There were also foreign delegations: (1) a Chinese group of irrigation experts headed by Czon Khan-in, (2) an Indian delegation headed by Sahaja, (3) an Egyptian delegation of scientists and writers headed by Dr. Muhammad Mandur, (4) a North Korean delegation headed by Kim Dja-Uk.

Thus the Congress of Uzbekistan's intelligentsia acquired the character of an all-Asian meeting.

The program of the Congress was restricted to one paragraph: "Historical decisions of the XXth Congress of the CPSU and the tasks of the intelligentsia of the Republic." The main paper on the above subject was read by N. A. Muheddinov, first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and candidate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Muheddinov's paper was followed by three days of discussions. The Congress was concluded with the acceptance of an appeal to all the intelligentsia of the Uzbek SSR.

As usual, Muheddinov's paper and all speeches stressed that the achievements of the Republic in the field of industry, agriculture, culture, and education became possible owing to the leadership of the Communist Party, Lenin's national policy, and, especially, to the brotherly help of the Great Russian people.

Muheddinov said: "Owing to the help of all the peoples of the USSR, and especially to the help of the Great Russian people, the Uzbek people have achieved great progress. With its great deeds, with its broad wisdom, with its disinterestedness, with its brotherly approach, the Russian people deserve the esteem and the warmest gratitude of all the peoples of our country and all democratic forces of the world."

"Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Russian people form a cementing power in the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and a unifying factor for the peoples under the banner of Proletarian Internationalism."

Thus, we can see that decisions of the XXth Congress of the CPSU concerning the cult of personality do not liquidate the fact of the hegemony of the Russians over the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. Stalin based his rule on the Russians, and the new collective leaders base their influence on the Russian nation as well.

Muheddinov's speech reveals the following elements of Soviet policy:

- (1) the far-reaching and far-sighted Soviet Asian policy

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- (2) the present political situation in Turkestan, and in Uzbekistan in particular
- (3) the hidden aims of the Soviet attack against the cult of personality in non-Russian areas in the USSR

ad (1):

In his speech Muheddinov several times stresses the cultural and historical links existing between Central Asia (Turkestan) and Eastern countries beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. Said Muheddinov: "The Uzbeks are very ancient people. The best sons of the Uzbek people contributed very precious riches to the treasury of the world's culture and science. Central Asian workers in the field of culture and science, such as Biruni, Abu-Ali ibn-Sinna, Khorazmi, Farabi, Ulug-Bek, and such scholars are famous not only in the East, but in other countries of the world as well. Central Asia is one of the oldest centers of the development of human culture. Here in Central Asia existed ancient states. The present-day peoples of Central Asia had close links in ancient times with Russia (1) China, India, Iran, and other countries. The culture of the present-day peoples of Central Asia developed in close relationship with the aforesaid peoples. At one period, Central Asia's peoples possessed the highest known culture."

To support his assertion, Muheddinov quotes Sukarno's words: "Samarkand," said Sukarno, "is one of the most ancient cities of the USSR. Eastern culture began to grow in exactly this spot."

Muheddinov adds that owing to these old cultural ties, it was easier for us to establish and develop our links with Eastern and other foreign peoples. In the past six months, Uzbekistan was visited by numerous delegations from China, India, Syria, Indonesia, Norway, Holland, the German Democratic Republic, U.S.A., Czechoslovakia, England, Uruguay, Argentina, Egypt, Sweden, Iran, Denmark, Pakistan, North Korea, and other countries. Uzbekistan was visited by such famous leaders as Nehru, Sukarno, U-Nu, Radhakrishnan, as well as the Shah of Iran. The representatives of Uzbekistan's intelligentsia visited more than 30 foreign countries.

In his speech, Muheddinov describes the situation in foreign Eastern countries and their relations with Western countries. "At present the greatly developed peoples' independence movements in colonial and dependent countries create most favorable conditions for strengthening friendship between the Soviet peoples and the Eastern peoples beyond the borders of the USSR. Imperialist states have become convinced that they cannot preserve their rule over the colonial peoples by the old methods. Therefore, they began to apply new forms and methods of colonial policy. These are as follow: (1) They form anti-Soviet military blocs and groupings and they try to attract Eastern countries and include them in these blocs, (2) They are strengthening their ideological influence in the Eastern countries. To this end they use the method of lies, chiefly against Soviet reality, the Soviet State, and against the policy of the peoples' democratic countries. (3) Under the guise of assistance they organized wide-scale economic and political pressure on Eastern countries. This pressure forms a new method of reintroducing the colonial yoke. To retain their old possessions and to suppress national liberation movements, the Western imperialist powers use the bandit principle of divide and rule; they create provocations; they use the dirty method of intimidating with war, and threat with military force."

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In his speech, Muheddinov stresses the facts concerning the development of the national liberation movements in the East: "Our orientalists do not pay proper attention to learning the present real situation in the East, and do not sufficiently denounce the new methods of colonialism and impudent penetration of imperialists in Asia."

Muheddinov informs us that the Soviet Government tried to publish the magazine "The USSR in Hindi," but we do not have a good specialist in the Hindi language. The lack of proper linguists is responsible for lack of broadcasts from Tashkent in Hindi, Punjab, Pushtu, Burmese, Siamese, and many other Asian languages. Muheddinov adds that "we must repair these vacuums. Our aims are big and responsible: to propagate abroad the achievements of the Soviet Union, Union Republics included. The broad masses of the East are very interested in our achievements. To our regret, we inform the peoples of the East very little about our achievements."

Then Muheddinov spoke about the Soviet intentions to improve the work in the above-mentioned fields: (a) Teaching of the languages and histories of large Eastern countries must be introduced in secondary schools. School curricula should be revised and the great role of Eastern peoples in the development of the civilization and culture of mankind should be taken into account. (b) Study of more than 100,000 Eastern manuscripts in libraries in Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Kazan should be accelerated. Publication of a short description of the contents of 85,000 Eastern manuscripts in Tashkent should be quickly undertaken. (c) A special publishing house for the publication of books devoted to Eastern countries should be established. The journal "Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie" should be improved. (d) In 1957 in Tashkent, the first All-Union Congress of Orientalists will be convened. This conference must solve problems and analyze measures for the betterment of preparation of cadres; and, together with scientific studies of the East, prepare a plan for publishing necessary sources. (e) The Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, along with strengthening scientific ties with other Soviet Academies, should strengthen and develop ties with the Academies of Sciences of China, India, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, and other Asian countries. Uzbekistan's Academy of Sciences should start publishing the works of famous Eastern scholars, writers, and thinkers, and commence the profound study of the histories and cultures of Eastern countries. (f) Radio Tashkent should increase its broadcasts in foreign languages and should take into consideration the opinions and demands of foreign listeners. Simultaneously, the Tashkent Radio should properly inform the toilers of Uzbekistan concerning the living conditions of Eastern peoples.

Besides elaborating on the above-mentioned program of work, the first congress of Uzbekistan's intelligentsia confirmed that the institute for atomic physics research, which is under construction in Tashkent (in conformity with the August 4, 1956, resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR), has not only an economic character but, above all, a political and propagandistic character. Academician U. Q. Arifov, director of this institute, in an article published in connection with the Congress of Intelligentsia, said that the institute is under construction in a locality 35 kms from Tashkent. The institute will have homes and working facilities for scientists, engineers, and students from Eastern countries.

In conclusion, we must admit that the Soviet Government at present has begun the preparation for a much deeper penetration and infiltration of Eastern countries. The past relations and links of Turkestan with Eastern countries, as well as its

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geographic position, are properly evaluated by Moscow. Thus, the present collective leadership is trying to bring into existence Lenin's plans, afterwards confirmed by Stalin, for the great revolutionary role of Turkestan in the East.

ad (2):

Muheddinov's speech provides an opportunity for understanding the political situation in Turkestan, and especially in Uzbekistan. In his speech, Muheddinov touches on some ideological and nationality problems. Says Muheddinov, "Assistant Professor of Central Asian State University, Comrade Bondarevsky, in 1953 prepared a 15-page denunciation entitled 'Actual Appearance of Bourgeois Nationalism in the Ideological Front in Uzbekistan'. In his denunciation, Bondarevsky accuses well-known scientists, writers, and statesmen of Uzbekistan of nationalism. He was so carried away by his feelings that he even accused the Russian scientists who worked with and befriended Uzbek scientists of supporting local nationalism."

In his other example, Muheddinov said: "Some comrades - members of the intelligentsia - harm the Friendship among the representatives of different nationalities with their careless speeches. We must condemn the quarrel between the writers Abdullah Kakhar and Melchakov, which occurred not long ago. They accused each other of nationalism, in brutal and unjustified terms, during the Plenum of the Union of Soviet Writers of Uzbekistan." (in April, 1956)

Of course Muheddinov criticizes such quarrels between the representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia. Yet the fact of the existence of such events as Bondarevsky's denunciation against the Uzbek scientists, or the accusation of nationalism of such a person as the writer Abdullah Kakhar, twice Stalin laureate and member of the Praesidium of the Union of Soviet Writers of the USSR, by Melchakov, provides proof of the existence of antagonism between the Russian and Uzbek intelligentsia in Uzbekistan.

Muheddinov confirms this with the following words: "The opinion that local nationalism does not exist in Uzbekistan is erroneous and dangerous." He adds, "Nationalism is a living and dangerous relic of capitalism. This relic manifests its existence in different forms. Nationalism is dangerous since it introduces national exclusiveness and the strengthening of local nationalism greatly harms the education of the toilers in the international spirit."

Muheddinov thinks that local nationalism is the most dangerous for Soviet society. Said he, "To put local interests above all-state interests forms the most harmful survival of the Past. The Uzbekistan Communist Party always fought and will fight all localist tendencies."

ad (3):

Muheddinov stressed that the most important decision of the XXth Congress of the CPSU is the liquidation of the cult of Stalin in theory and practice. "Development of the cult of personality greatly injured ideological activities, transformed propaganda work into dogmatism and into mechanical repetition, tore propaganda from the practical building of Communism."

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Muheddinov did not so much as mention anything connected with Stalinist terror. He even partially justified the terror of the Stalin era: "A bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan reexamined the cases of known leaders of the Republic who were arrested in 1937-39 and who were accused of nationalism and treachery. The bureau confirmed that a great work was done then in the field of unmasking nationalists and traitors, and in the liquidation of activist inimical elements. The bureau also stated that in some cases unjustified accusations of the leaders of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan took place."

Muheddinov made mention also of the rehabilitation of the following persons:

- (1) Baltabaev, former third secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan. (Baltabaev committed suicide in 1937.)
- (2) Islamov, former people's commissar of finance.
- (3) Islamov, former people's commissar of agriculture.
- (4) Artikov, former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol Party of Uzbekistan.
- (5) Israilov, former secretary of the Khorazm Okrug committee of the Communist Party.
- (6) Boltaev, former first secretary of Kara-Kalpak Oblast committee of the Communist Party.
- (7) The case of Akmal Ikramov is now under study.

Besides the above-mentioned persons, Muheddinov announced the rehabilitation of five second-rate Party workers accused of nationalism in the period 1942-53.

Concerning formerly accused and liquidated cultural workers, Muheddinov mentioned only one rehabilitated person, Abdullah Kadri (Djulkumbay), a well-known novelist. (By decree of the Supreme Court of the USSR, A. Kadri was rehabilitated 13 days after Muheddinov's speech. By decree of the Supreme Court, all his works have to be reprinted. This decision was published in the dailies Kizil Uzbekistan and Pravda Vostoka of October 24, 1956.)

These rehabilitations are explained by Muheddinov with the following words: "Some ambitious persons, demagogues, and unfriendly elements several times tried to destroy the nationality policy of the Party and they strove, with unfounded accusations of nationalism, to create mistrust and dissatisfaction among our intelligentsia."

In conclusion, the Soviet Government is striving, by the rehabilitation of liquidated persons, to regain the confidence of national intelligentsia and still more exploit it for its own ends. The Turkestanian intelligentsia, most probably, is, nevertheless, indisposed to believe in the liberalizing tendencies of Moscow. This may be proven by the fact that nobody, except Muheddinov, touched the question of the cult of personality and the victims of Stalinist terror.

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